

THE JASPER WEEKLY COURIER.

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DUBOIS COUNTY, INDIANA, BY
CLEMENT DOANE.
OFFICE—ON WEST MAIN STREET.

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SCHOFIELD HOUSE!
RESTAURANT & SALOON!
By Col. J. Mehringer,
No. 232 Green St. bet Jackson & Hancock,
dec. 23d, 1865. LOUISVILLE, Ky.

M. F. MALOTT, T. R. COBB, J. C. SCHAFER.
M. LOTT, COBB & SCHAFER.

JASPER, INDIANA.

Will Practice in the Courts of
DUBOIS COUNTY.

Special attention given to the
Collection of Claims.
Office on the East side of the Pub-
lic Square,
June 22, 1867. 1y.

BRUNO BURRER,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
And Notary Public,
Jasper Ind.,
Will practice in all the Courts of
Dubois and Perry Counties, Indiana.
July 19, 1867-1y

Clement Doane,
ATTORNEY AT LAW.
JASPER, INDIANA.

Will attend promptly to any business
entrusted to him in any of the courts
of Dubois county. Office in the Courier
building, on West street.

G. T. B. Carr,
ATTORNEY AT LAW.
JASPER, INDIANA.

Will practice in all the Courts of Dubois
and adjoining counties.
Office on the South side of the Public
Square, Sept. 20, 67.

C. STEGE, H. REILING, JON. HAXTHAUSSEN
STEGE, REILING & CO.,
WHOLESALE DEALERS IN

Groceries, Provisions, Teas,
TOBACCO, CIGARS,
MARKET STREET.

North Side, between Second and Third Sts.
LOUISVILLE, KY.
P. S.—Prompt attention to orders from the
country. sep. 12, 1863 if.

WASHINGTON HOUSE,
East Main Street

Jasper, Ind.,
N. E. BORG, Prop'r.

Having leased this house from Mr. Ser-
merheim and having refitted and furnished
it, it is now open for the accommodation of
travelers and boarders. Being directly in
front of the Court House, and close to the
business portion of the town, it is a conven-
ient stopping place, and the proprietor will
spare no exertion to make his guests com-
fortable.

Good stable and feed provided for
horses, with a careful Outler.

Merchants' and Mechanics'
HOTEL.

WEST 8th, BETWEEN MAIN AND McDONALD.
JASPER, INDIANA.

THE undersigned, having purchased and
fitted up this property for hotel purposes,
solicits a liberal share of public patronage.
His table will always be supplied with the
best market affords, and no effort will
be spared to make those who may stop with
him "feel at home."

Good stabling furnished for horses.
JOHN GRAMMELSPACHER.
Jan. 13, '67-y.

Extract from the President's Message.
Fellow citizens of the Senate and House of
Representatives:

The continued disorganization of the
Union to which the President has so often
called the attention of Congress is yet a
subject of profound and patriotic concern.
When civil war has been brought to a close
it is manifestly the first interest and duty of
the State to repair the injuries which war
has inflicted, and to secure the benefit of
the lessons it teaches as fully and speedily
as possible. This duty was upon the termi-
nation of the rebellion promptly accepted,
not only by the Executive Department, but
by the insurrectionary States themselves,
and restoration at the first moment of peace
was believed to be as easy and certain as it
was indispensable. The expectations, how-
ever, then so reasonably and confidently en-
tertained, were disappointed by legislation
from which I felt constrained by my obliga-
tions to the Constitution to withhold my as-
sent.

It is therefore a source of profound re-
gret that in complying with the obligation
imposed on the President by the Constitu-
tion, to "give to Congress, from time to time,
information of the state of the Union," I
am unable to communicate any definite ad-
justment satisfactory to the American peo-
ple, of the questions which, since the
close of the rebellion, have agitated the
public mind. On the contrary, candor com-
pels me to declare that at this time there is
no union, as our fathers understood the
term, and as they meant it to be understood
by us.

The Union and the Constitution are in-
separable. As long as one is obeyed by all
parties the other will be preserved, and if
one is destroyed both must perish together.
The destruction of the Constitution will be
followed by other and still greater calamities.
It was ordained not only "to form a
more perfect Union," between the States,
but "to establish justice, insure domestic
tranquility, provide for the common defence,
promote the general welfare, and secure the
blessings of liberty to ourselves and our pos-
terity." Nothing but implicit obedience to
its requirements in all parts of the country
will accomplish this great end. Without
that obedience we can look forward only to
continued anarchy on individual rights, in-
creased branches of public peace, national
weakness, financial dishonor, total loss of
our property, general corruption of morals,
and the final extinction of popular freedom.

To save our country from evils so appal-
ling as these we should renew our efforts
again and again. To me the process of res-
toration seems perfectly plain and simple.
It consists merely in a faithful application
of the Constitution and laws. The execu-
tion of the laws is not now obstructed or
opposed by physical force. There is no mili-
tary or other necessity real or pretended,
which can prevent obedience to the Con-
stitution, either North or South. All the
rights and all the obligations of States and
individuals can be protected and enforced
by means perfectly consistent with funda-
mental law. Courts may be everywhere
opened, and if opened their process would
be unimpeded.

It is clear in my apprehension that the
States lately in rebellion are still members
of the national Union. When did they
cease to be so? The ordinances of seces-
sion adopted by a portion of those States,
in most of them by a very small portion of
their citizens, were mere nullities. If we
admit now that they were valid and effec-
tual for the purpose intended by their au-
thors, we sweep from under our feet the
whole ground upon which we justified the
war.

Were those States afterward expelled
from the Union by war? The direct con-
trary was asserted by this Government to be its
purpose, and was so understood by all those
who gave their blood and treasure to aid
in its prosecution. It cannot be that a suc-
cessful war, waged for the preservation of
the Union had the legal effect of dissolv-
ing it.

The victory of the nation's arms was not
the defeat of her policy. The defeat of
secession on the battle field was not the tri-
umph of its lawless principles. Nor could
Congress, with or without the consent of
the Executive do anything which would
have the effect, directly or indirectly, of
separating States from each other. To dis-
solve the Union is to repeal the constitution
which holds it together; and that is a power

which does not belong to any department of
this Government, or to all of them united.

This is so plain that it has been acknow-
ledged by all branches of the Federal Gov-
ernment, legislative and executive. My
predecessor, as well as myself and the
heads of the Departments, have uniformly
acted upon the principle that the Union is
not only undissolved but indissoluble.—
Congress submitted an amendment of the
Constitution to be ratified by the Southern
States, and accepted their acts of ratifica-
tion as a necessary and lawful exercise of
their highest function. If they were not
States, or were States out of the Union,
their consent to a change in the funda-
mental law of the Union would be negat-
ory; and Congress, in asking it, committed
a political absurdity. The judiciary has also
given the solemn sanction of its authority
to the same views of the case.

Constitutional duty is not the only one
which requires States to be restored. There
is another consideration, which, though of
minor importance, is yet of great weight.

On the 22d of July, 1861, Congress de-
clared, by an almost unanimous vote of
both Houses, that the war should "be con-
ducted solely for the purpose of preserving
the Union and maintaining the supremacy
of the Federal Constitution and laws with-
out impairing the dignity, equality and rights
of States or individuals," and that when
this was done the war should cease. I do
not say that this declaration is personally
binding on those who joined in making it,
any more than individual members of Con-
gress are personally bound to pay a public
debt created under a law for which they vot-
ed; but it was a solemn, public, official
pledge of national honor, and I cannot im-
agine upon what ground repudiation of it is
to be justified. If it be said that we are not
bound to keep faith with rebels let it be re-
membered that this promise was not made to
rebels only. Thousands of true men in the
South were drawn to our standard by it,
and hundreds of thousands in the North
gave their lives in the belief that it would
be carried out.

Being sincerely convinced that these
views are correct, I would be unfaithful to
my duty did I not recommend the repeal of
the acts of Congress which place ten States
under the domination of military masters.
If calm reflection shall satisfy a majority
of your honorable bodies that the acts re-
ferred to are not only a violation of the na-
tional faith but in direct conflict with the
Constitution, I dare not permit myself to
doubt that you will immediately strike them
from the statute books.

I have no desire to save from the proper
and just consequences of their great crime
those who were in rebellion against the
Government, but as a mode of punishment
the measures under consideration are the
most unreasonable that could be invented.
Many of those people are perfectly inno-
cent. Many kept their fidelity to the
Union untainted to the last. Many were in-
capable of any legal offence. A large por-
tion even of the persons able to bear arms
were forced into the rebellion against their
will, and of those who are guilty with their
own consent the degrees of guilt are as va-
rious as the shades of their character and
temper. But these acts of Congress
confound them all together in one common
doom.

Indiscriminate vengeance upon classes,
sects, and parties, or upon whole communi-
ties, for offences committed by a portion of
them against governments to which they
owed obedience, were common in the barba-
rous ages of the world, but christianity and
civilization have made such progress that
recourse to a punishment so cruel and un-
just would meet with the condemnation of
all unprejudiced and right-minded men.—
The punitive justice of the age, especially
of this country, does not consist of stripping
whole States of their liberties, and reducing
all their people, without distinction, to a
condition of slavery. It deals separately
with each individual, confines itself to the
forms of law, and vindicates its own purity
by an impartial examination of every case
before a competent judicial tribunal.

If this does not satisfy all our desires with
regard to the Southern rebels, let us con-
sole ourselves by reflecting that a free Con-
stitution, triumphant in war and unbroken
in peace, is worth far more to us and our
children than the gratification of any pres-
ent feeling.

It is the curse of despotism that it has no
balancing place. Intermittent exercise of its
power brings no sense of security to its sub-
jects; for they can never know what more
they will be called to endure when its red
right hand is armed to plague them again.
Nor is it possible to conjecture how or
when power, unrestrained by law, may seek
its next victims. States that are still in the
Union may be enslaved at any moment; for
if the Constitution does not protect all, it
protects none. It is manifestly and avow-
edly the objects of these laws to confer upon
negroes the privilege of voting; to disfran-
chise such numbers of white citizens as will
give the former a clear majority at all elec-
tions in the Southern States. This to the
minds of some persons is so important that
a violation of the Constitution is justified as
a means of bringing it about. That morally
it is always false which excuses a wrong
because it proposes to accomplish a desira-
ble end. We are not permitted to do evil
that good may come. But in this case the
end itself is evil as well as the means.

The subjugation of States to negro domi-
nation would be worse than the military
despotism under which they are now suffer-
ing. It was believed before Congress passed
the act that the people would endure any
amount of military oppression for any
length of time rather than degrade them-
selves by subjection to the negro race.—
Therefore they have been left without a
choice. Negro suffrage was established by
act of Congress and military officers were
commanded to superintend the process of
clothing the negro race with political privi-
leges formerly belonging to white men.

The blacks in the South are entitled to be
well and humanely governed, and to have
the protection of just laws for all the rights
of person and property. If it were practi-
cable at this time to give them a government
exclusively their own under which they
might manage their own affairs in their own
way, it would become a grave question
whether we ought to do so, or whether com-
mon humanity would not require us to save
them from themselves. But, under the cir-
cumstances, this is a speculative point. It
is not proposed merely that they shall gov-
ern themselves, but that they shall rule the
white race, make and administer State laws,
elect Presidents and members of Congress,
and shape, to a greater or less extent, the
future destiny of the whole country. Would
such a trust and power be safe in such
hands? The peculiar qualities which should
characterize any people who are fit to decide
upon the management of public affairs for a
great State have seldom been combined in
any race. It is the glory of white men to
know that they have had these qualities in
sufficient measure to build upon this conti-
nent a great political fabric and preserve its
stability for more than ninety years,
while in every other part of the world all
similar experiments have failed. But if
anything can be proved by known facts, and
all reasoning upon evidences is not aban-
doned, it must be acknowledged that in the
progress of nations negroes have shown less
capacity for government than any other race
of people. No independent government of
any form has ever been successful in their
hands. On the contrary, whenever they
have been left to their own devices they
have shown a constant tendency to lapse
into barbarism. In the Southern States,
however, Congress has undertaken to con-
fer upon them the privilege of the ballot.—
Just released from slavery it may be doubted
whether as a class they know more than
their ancestors how to organize and regu-
late civil society. Indeed, it is admitted
that the blacks of the South are not only re-
gardless of the rights of property, but go-
utterly ignorant of public affairs that their
voting can consist of nothing more than
carrying a ballot to the place, where they
are directed to deposit it. I need not re-
mind you that the exercise of the elective
franchise is the highest attribute of an
American citizen, and when guided by vir-
tue, intelligence, patriotism, and proper ap-
preciation of our free institutions, it consti-
tutes the true basis of our democratic form
of government, in which the sovereign power
is lodged in the body of the people. A
great artificially created—nor for its own
sake, but solely as a means of promoting
the general welfare, its influence for good
must necessarily depend upon the elevated
character and true allegiance of the elector.
It ought, therefore, to be reposed in none
except those who are fitted morally and

and mentally to administer it well, for if con-
ferred upon persons who do not justly esti-
mate its value, and who are indifferent as to
its results, it will only serve as a means of
placing power in the hands of the un-
principled and ambitious, and must eventu-
ate in the complete destruction of that lib-
erty of which it should be the most power-
ful conservator.

Controlled through fraud and usurpation
by designing men, anarchy and despotism
must inevitably follow. In the hands of
the patriotic and worthy our Government
will be preserved upon the principles of the
Constitution inherited from our fathers.

The plan of putting the Southern
States wholly, and the Federal Govern-
ment partially, into the hands of negroes,
is proposed at a time peculiarly unpropit-
ious. The foundations of society have
been broken up by civil war. Industry
must be reorganized, justice reestablished,
public credit maintained, order brought
out of confusion. To accomplish these
ends would require all the wisdom and vir-
tue of the great men who formed our insti-
tutions originally. I confidently believe
that their descendants will be equal to the
arduous task before them; but it is worse
than madness to expect that negroes will
perform it for us. Certainly we ought not
to ask their assistance until we despair of
our own competency. The great differ-
ence between the two races in physical,
mental and moral characteristics will pre-
vent an amalgamation or fusion of them to-
gether in one homogeneous mass. If the
inferior obtains ascendancy over the other
it will govern with reference only to its
own interests; for it will recognize no com-
mon interest; and create such a tyranny as
this continent has never yet witnessed.
Already negroes are influenced by promises
of confiscation and plunder. They are
taught to regard as an enemy every white
man who has any respect for the rights of
his own race. If this continues it must
become worse and worse until all order will
be subverted, all industry cease, and the fer-
tile fields of the South grow up into a wil-
derness. Of all the dangers which our na-
tion has yet encountered none are equal to
those which must result from the success of
the effort now making to Africanize half
our country.

I would not put considerations of money
in competition with justice and right; but
the expenses incident to reconstruction un-
der the system adopted by Congress, aggra-
vate what I regard as the intrinsic wrongs
of the measure itself. It has cost uncounted
millions already, and, if persisted in will
add largely to the weight of taxation, al-
ready too oppressive to be borne without
just complaint, and may finally reduce the
treasury of the nation to a condition of
bankruptcy. We must not delude ourselves.
It will require a strong standing army, and
probably more than two hundred millions of
dollars per annum, to maintain the suprem-
acy of the negro governments after they
are established. The sum thus thrown
away would if properly used, form a sinking
fund large enough to pay the whole nation-
al debt in less than fifteen years. It is vain
to hope that negroes will maintain their as-
cendancy themselves. Without military
power they are wholly incapable of holding
in subjection the white people of the South.

I submit to the judgment of Congress
whether the public credit may not be inju-
riously affected by a system of measures
like this. With our debt and the vast pri-
vate interests which are complicated with it,
we cannot be too cautious of a policy which
might by possibility, impair the confidence
of the world in our Government. That
confidence can only be retained by carefully
inculcating the principles of justice and
honor on the popular mind, and by the most
scrupulous fidelity to all our engagements
of every sort. Any serious breach of or-
ganic law persisted in for a considerable
time, cannot but create a fear for the sta-
bility of our institutions.

Business in the South is paralyzed by a
sense of general insecurity, by the terror of
confiscation and dread of negro supremacy.
Southern trade, from which the North would
have derived so great a profit under a Gov-
ernment of law, still languishes and can
never be revived while it can be fettered by
the arbitrary power which makes all its op-
erations unsafe. That rich country, the
richest in natural resources the world ever